1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

APPENDIX C

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION OF INDIAN NAMES

(International Phonetics Association Symbols)

Comanches

A Big Fall By Tripping	piáɪɜpsima
Barking Buttocks	wítawɔwɔki
Bay Mare	óhapia
Bone	tsúnip
Been To See His Son	patuáwunikwai
Blow It Away	pɔ'aika
Breaks Something	tʃikova
Brother-in-law	ʈɜ:tɜ:
Brown Robe	ɔ'tiahɜ
Buffalo	ʈásiwɔ
Buffalo Robe	yóniakʌt
Bull Roarer	wɜ'kɜβuβi
Bull Elk	páɪuakum
Carrying Something Under Her Belt	saídja
Chew Up	kútskwip
Cliff	tɜ'panai
Cooks Dried Meat	kúkap
Coals In A Wood Fire	kútu
Crazy Bear	ísawɜɪa
Crowds Somebody	wútsuki
Dry Tipi	pákikani
Eagle Tail Feather	kwásia
Echo Of The Wolf's Howl	ísɛnanika
Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man	ʈénɛβɜkɔ
Grey Flat Lying Object	ésihaβit
Holding For Fun	ʈʌ'sʌtsai
Holding Her Sunshade (Carrying Her Sunshade)	hɜ'kiyani
Little	ʈɜ':ta
Little Medicine	tɜ'βowakʌt
Looking	púnita
Looking For Fun	ʈɜ'sɜtsaponi
Mangey Coat	tásiaβɔkuɪawa

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●C 551 104

Narrow Gut	kóhi
No Bed	kápewat
Pepper	tʃíeɪa
Red Young Man	ékawɔkani
Robe On His Back	kwáhiɜa
Rocky Creek	ʈɜ'piwnɜ
Salt Worn Out	ónawia
Short Dress	cítaɪa
She Invites Her Relatives (Gets Her Neighbors)	nɜ'mɜɪuiβɛts
Skinny and Wrinkled	ʈɛ'kwitʃi
That's It	ʈásuɪa
Thunder	pɔ'tsensuap
Touch With A Closed Fist	tɔ'kwia
Tongue	ékon
Traveller's Road	nɔ'βɔik

N *Shoshone*

551 104

Climber	tɛ'ndoi
Coyote Droppings	húgwidʌp
Dunking	tɔ'stagwa
Dry Head Of The Penis	pásakant
Knocking Over	ʈɔ'ani
Little Cottontail Rabbit	ʈáβutsi
Little Gulping As If Swallowing	kúnutsi
Little Old Man	wúwutsi
Lost	wáʃiki
Noseless	múβiwʌt
No Testicles	nɔ'yɔwʌt
Red Son	ɛ'ngaʈua
Red Round Object	ɛngaβɔ'nɛkə
Water Plant	paínaitə
Whispering Voice	sɔ'yɔkant
White Man's Son	taíβoanduə

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 574 622 On the return, which was by a different route from that we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their [55] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the [622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 727 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly performed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was solemnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friendship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-no*, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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157 624 551 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, possessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

622 157 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the [113] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong 823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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174 619 rediscovered by the Yap-eaters (*Yampatikə*) and Antelope bands (*Kwəharɛnə*), who went far southward into Mexico on a raiding expedition. The relationship was restored, and thereafter they maintained a loose alliance with their western and northern kinsmen.[17] But still they were distinct enough to help the United States troops against other Comanches—a fact remembered with bitterness by members of other bands to this very day.

Another Comanche band which the Anglo-Americans came to know well, though unfavorably, was the Those Who Move Often (*Nɔyɛka*), or *Nɔkoni* (Those Who Turn Back). Although all Comanches were nomadic, these were the real gypsies of the tribe. "They always turned back before they got to where they were going," said Eagle Tail Feather; but it is more likely that they were just drifting about, not going any place in particular. After the death of a chief [765] who bore the same name as his band (*Nɔkoni*), because of the tabu ●551] forbidding the speaking of a dead person's name, the band became known as *Dətsanɔyɛka* (Wanderers Who Make Bad Camps); they moved so much that they were slovenly in their camp habits.

In 1786, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico stated that most of the Wanderers were located between the Arkansas and the Red rivers, but that their camps were to be found across Texas as far south as the banks of the Pecos. During the nineteenth century the Wanderers generally ranged immediately north of the Wasps. Together with some of their neighbors, the *Tenawa* and the *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), they composed the group referred to as the Middle Comanches. The map based on the expeditions and accounts of Captain Marcy, 1849–52, shows the Middle Comanches along the headwaters of the Red River for about one hundred miles southward to the headwaters of the Brazos (Main, Double Mountain, Clear Fork, Salt Fork, and Middle Fork) River in the region between Fort Phantom Hill and Fort Belknap.[18] Their favorite retreat and stronghold was in the breaks of the Pease River country where they found protection from the blizzards and safety from pursuing enemies.

Another powerful band was that of the Buffalo-eaters (*Kutsuɛka*),

[17] Agent E. L. Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K–13).

[18] Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back.

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was

The Comanches

753 injurious to the child or its family, however. Post Oak Jim was given
551 one of these at first.

He was taken by his mother and father to a warrior for his first name. Later he became restless and cried all night, until at last his
753 parents took him to another brave to find out what was wrong.
553
539 « « « "That deed was false," he told them. "That fellow has no real war deeds. He can't do anything."

Then they circled his tipi and asked him for a new name for me.

"Come back in the morning," he directed them. "I cannot give it at this time of day."

In the morning my grandmother took me down before sunrise.

"Do not enter my tipi," the warrior called out. "Stay out there and look at the rising sun." He was fixing himself in his war regalia. Just as the sun arose, he came out with his spear in hand. He walked south and east of the tipi and stood facing the newly risen sun.

"You, Sun," he cried, "you cannot harm me. This thing I did was true. You, Earth, have seen me. The Big Bird [Eagle] has seen me. You cannot dispute my word. On the war path we saw the enemy on a hill. We charged and my companions outran me, for I was a poor man and my horse was slow. I was the last to come up to the battle place. My friends were doing nothing. They just sat there. I asked them what was the matter. They said the enemies on the hill were too strong for them to attack them. I went right in and charged them. I killed a man with a spear. We went home and had a Victory Dance."

He turned and came back to where my grandmother was holding me in her arms.

"His name is going to be *ɔβɔγβita*—Group of Men Standing On A Hill," he said.[3] » » »

551 There was a tendency for formal names to belong to a family as a sort of property. Names might be derived from some closely connected circumstance, event, or happening, trivial or otherwise; or they might reflect some experience of the godparent. The male child might be called by some term expressive of the pride or affection of

[3] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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the father. It might be named after its grandfather, uncle, or some other near relative. The person for whom the child, boy or girl, was named was expected to contribute a gift to his or her namesake. A good name was always chosen, though the child might be called by a nickname in common parlance. 551

Nicknames were obtained in the most haphazard way and might change at the will of associates. Greyfoot was called so because a woman got her feet covered with gray clay while crossing a creek. Even the most noted warriors were sometimes unable to control the disposition to nickname. Any unusual physical aspect or peculiar trait of character was almost certain to be seized upon. Thus Face Wrinkles Like an Old Man is an appropriate appellation for one informant. Frequently a nickname was given not because of the prospective bearer's idiosyncrasies, but after the behavior of his parental kinfolk. Such a name a boy retained until he had made a successful journey to war, a plundering expedition, or a hunt, when he received another name selected by himself or by a close friend as evidence of his newly won status as a man. Girls, however, did not regularly change their names at puberty.

Girls were unlikely to be named after the relatives of the mother, but rather after a relative of the father. Names thus remained in the family. The mother generally selected the name, which might be in commemoration of something she thought worthy. Girls, like boys, were called by nicknames. Married women did not take the names of their husbands, nor was there any equivalent of "Miss" or "Mrs." to indicate whether a woman was married or single. The name of a dead person was avoided and was not spoken in the presence of relatives for a long time, usually several years, other words conveying the same idea being substituted.

The training of children consisted almost entirely of precept, advice, and counsel. A baby soon learned that he would not have his whims gratified by crying. He was told to do, or warned to refrain from doing, certain things, not because they were right or wrong, but because they were to his advantage or disadvantage. He was taught that he would benefit by acting in a certain way. His pride and ambition were appealed to, and worthy examples among living men in the tribe were pointed out for emulation. Of abstract principles of 854

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601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. [582] [184] Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

● [55] She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

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BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[1]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms.

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain

[1] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias.

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

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though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected with adoption. 597

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older man. 848 [558] [551]

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of powerful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died, all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what was offered in the way of other clothes. 845 [184] [847]

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this extended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother, incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized patterns. 604 593

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-husbands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment, 593 684

192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa?
103 *Chihuahua;* me?he? *Mexico.*

Place names from English:[*] ?ahpaícI *Apache;* ?inihúma? *Indiahoma;* ?okohóma? *Oklahoma;* paksîn *Faxon;* posto·kÎ *Post Oak* (Mission); takin *Duncan;* tepo *Temple;* teksîs *Texas;* totn *Lawton;* ca·núki *Chattanooga;* cikisé·? *Chickasaw;* sinaíri? *Snyder;* manpá·kI *Mountain Park;* maro· *Marlow;* wo·rîs *Walters.*

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekanarîmî·? *Red Store* (An old trading post 3–4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohahpuhaknI *Yellow Church* (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarîmî·? *Fletcher (sand town);* tu·so·kwe? *Anadarko* (tu·-, *black* + so·*many* + ?o·kwE *flow* + -?).

192 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre?
●551 (hombre) *man;* puta? (puta) *whore;* tihá·no? (tejano) *Texan;* tirássas (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaría? (tosa- *white* + *Maria*); tomá·sa? (Tomas); kupá·re? (compadre) *godfather, friend;* kuhmahcí·tO (Comanchito) *Comanche* [diminutive]; kurú·s (cruz) *cross;* ca·ves (Chavez); civá·to? (chivato) *young kid, he-goat;* wa·n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? *Andrew;* pesi? *Bessie;* piriks *Feliz;* po?o? *Paul;* to·me? *Tommy;* tu?nî? *Tony;* ko·ra? *Cora;* maikI *Mike;* menî·? *Minnie;* mîru? *Myrtle;* na·ni? *Nanny;* nere? *Nelly.*

192 A list of tribal names might also be given
552 here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi?avoro? *Pueblo Indians;*

[*] All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

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192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĭ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; nĭepI *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wĭ·yu? *awl*; wo?anacu?U *ragwced (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural 825 tradition. Also, animal names were fre- 551 quently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the 825 language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

Bear: parua?; wasape?; wĭra?;[10] ?ohamukwe?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarăhpanakatĭ *has big soles*; pihĭsoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus.*

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĭ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kihwria? *drooler*; narĭmiwahtĭ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivihi? *soft hair.*

Opossum: pa?sĭnó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[10] The first three unanalyzable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and
195 there has been a direct extension of English
[177] word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipɪ̈ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pɪ̈, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapɪ̈, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kihtavicipɪ̈, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipɪ̈ *groin milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly,
[551] the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

[142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).
[113]

[p. 242-B]

128 a brief ethnographic account of the old naming customs will first be given.

553 6.1. Comanche personal names were bestowed in a variety of ways and frequently in rather casual fashion. In rather sharp contrast to our practice, a person could in his lifetime successively bear several different names, or be known by several different sobriquets at any one given time. 551 Little distinction was made between male and female names, although some plainly did refer to male or female characteristics. [553] Women's names, however, tended to be more permanent.

While almost from birth an infant could be called by a pet name or nickname which was often kept until adolescence, a child could also simply be called by the word for *boy*, pihia?, or *girl*, nai?A. It was not uncommon for a person to be called by a status term designating age and sex, or by a kinship term, in lieu of his personal name. 553 However, a youngster would usually receive a given name in early childhood, although one informant stated that he was not given such a name until he was ten years old. A child's parents in modest 551 ceremony would customarily call in an [553] elder or two to relate stories and choose as a name some word descriptive of an incident or character in the tale. A name could also come from some incident in a person's life which subsequently came to be associated with him.

In some instances a child was named after a parent, relative or other person, but because of the taboo against using the name of a dead person, only if he or she was still alive. Or, alternatively, a boy could, in familiar European fashion, be called "son of so and so". Only in the latter case was there anything comparable to the use of paternal surnames.

553 Nicknames derived from physical pe- 551 culiarities or temperamental idiosyncrasies were frequently bestowed and could be given at almost any point in the life cycle [602] from babyhood on. In line with the insti-

[p. 243-B]

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was required to give the name he preferred and he was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

177 657 [434]

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

[113]

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551 practices can be noted in the list of Comanche names. First, there are 175 individuals [162] listed on the rolls by Comanche given names only. Thus, Tahkony, ta?koni? *one who heads something off*, a man of 72, is married to Ni he vah, naiviwá·? *one with no beauty*, 162 73. Of these 175 persons,[148] 107 are women with an average age of 67.9 years and an age range of 44–103 years; 68 are men with an average age of 63.9 and a range of 41–85 years. The average age for both men and 551 women is 66.3 years. Fourteen of the men have alternative Christian given names or given names and a surname after the father. Tooahnipah, tuiní?pi? *young man*, 57, also has the name Wilson Simmons; Mahvochuky, mavicu?ki? *one who rubs with the flat of the hand*, a man of 50, is also known as Wylie Yellowfish after his father. Which of these alternative names is preferred by either Indians or Whites differs from case to case. A few women also have additional names. Ukapitty, ?i?kiveti? *new daughter*, a woman of 56, has the alternative name Yellowback, which belonged to her father. It is probable that more persons have such supplementary names, especially first names by which they are known to Whites, but these do not appear on the agency rolls. Conversely, a great many younger people also have Comanche names though they are seldom used and are not recorded.

The names of a considerable number of women, as they are given on the census list, reflect the process of change in some detail. Nellie Tis so yo, tisoyó·? *one who has confidence in someone else*, 59, is the married name of Wuth take wahbitty, wihtikwavi?ti? [553] *arrives and strikes*. This is probably one of the earliest instances of a woman officially assuming the name of her husband at marriage, although among her friends and relatives, as is often the case, she is known by her own Comanche name. Josie Tanishoti, tanísutai? *one who is loved*, is the married name of a woman of 47. Her maiden name

[148] Females constitute 51.5% of the 1940 Comanche population of 2394.

[p. 245-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

551 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from tïtarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu·wiká·? *crow*, and pïhimahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

551 177 [128] Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[107] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. 551 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[113] [107] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941).

[p. 245-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-S (1940) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

551
177
162

TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40–44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45–49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	12	9.7
50–54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55–59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60–64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65–69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70–74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75–79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals.....	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	306			

[p. 246-A]

551 fathers or grandfathers of those who bear these newly established surnames. In no case does a surname stem from farther back than the third generation. Occasionally the surname is taken from the maternal line, from an aunt in one instance, but this is not the rule except in cases of illegitimacy or divorce. The adoption of a person's own Comanche given name as a surname along with an American first name is quite common, e.g., Casper Tis so yo, in which tïsoyó·ʔ *one who has confidence in someone else*, is the Comanche given name of this man of 69. Family names are usually kept in their full original form, but with the agency's rendition of them in English spelling appearing on the rolls; for example, Harry Tobits eer kumah, tïvicïkumaʔ *real male, or husband*; Lena Suah rah o lah, suaráʔura? *one who meets somebody intentionally*; Carmelita Delphine Atetewuthtakewa, ʔetiwïhtïkwaʔ *one who strikes with a bow*; Olive Chahtoeiebitten, cahtoʔivitïn, *one who pulls something out on his arrival*; and Cecil Ahtoowoosserahle, ʔotïwïsaráˑkiʔ *brown ears pricking up*.

(848) (586)

A Comanche names are only infrequently translated into English and these are for the most part medicine-animal names: Frank Redelk, Violet Yellowfish, Vincent Red Bird, Olive Black Otter, Lelia Yellowwolf, Thuma (from Therma) Chicken, and Philip

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[551] Lookingglass may be cited. Among the Indians themselves the Comanche form is usually in more common usage.

The length in translation of many of the names, their common sexual reference, and their frequent unflattering or cryptic meanings would tend to preclude translation in a good many instances. Geanell Yokesuite, yoksuwaitĭ *one who attempts to have intercourse*; Strudwick Tahsequaw, tasikwana? *vagina smell*; Ella Nahdooanipah, na?-ruinĭhpĭ? *only boy in the family*; Julia Monoessy, monáˑsi? *son-in-law*; Rachel Noyobad, noyowahtĭ *no testicles*; Kenneth Milton Sapkat, sapkatĭ *has a belly*; Delpha Zoe Topetchy, topehci? *after . . . he . . .*; Peggy Ann Keithtahroco, kĭhtaruhku? *one with hard flesh*; Rita Jane Wauahdooah, wo?arua? *wormy young one*; and Randlett Pahkekumah, pahkikĭma? *edge of an old dry hide*, are names that could hardly stand [553] translation. Due also to the new morality a few possessors of more outspoken Comanche names have altered them to convey a blander meaning and these nicer forms are used in addressing them. Connywerdy, originally, ka?nawĭa? *one with a slender penis*, was changed to kahnawĭ?rĭ? *tall and slender one*; Ahah, a woman of 70, whose name comes from ?a?h, the baby word for feces or something nasty, and is pronounced

[p. 246-C]

551 ʔahá·ʔ, is also called ʔeʔhá·wiʔ, a meaningless word.

551 563 White surnames liberally sprinkle the Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood. [162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White [641] ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche. 551 Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralls, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasaz (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener, [563] Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

551 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Paush (po?o?, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, tïmo·?, (from English, *Tim, Tom, Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pïhïrïsohpe? *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, ?amaru?. Paul Pausu (Paul), 69; and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced menï·?, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwïkitï *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

551 192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcï·tO, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupá·re?, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tahuano, tïhá·no?, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

551 177 A new fashion in given first names may be observed since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

SSI 177 writer has the impression, abetted by a checklist of the names of 335 Indiahoma school children, that the change is more pronounced among the Indians than the Whites.

SSI The plainness of the names of older persons is attested by the following list of given names of 51 men 55 years old or over (figures in parentheses indicate plural occurrences): Andrew, Albert (3), Alexander, Baldwin, Ben, Bert, Casper, Charles, Codose or Crose (from Spanish, cruz *cross*), David, Edward, Eli, Emerson, Ernest, Eugene, Frank, Fred, George, George E., Grover, Gus, Herman, Howard, Jack, Jesse, John, Johnson, Joseph, Joshua, Mat, Millet, Nathan, Oscar, Otto, Paul, Reuben, Robert D., Rudolph, Samuel, Terrence, Thomas, Tim, Timbo (see above), Tom, Wahnee (from wane? *fox*), Walter, Willie, Wilson, and Mike.

The given names of 86 women of 45 or over are likewise old-fashioned and simple: Ada, Alice (3), Annie, Bertha, Bernice, Bessie, Betty, Birdie, Clou (see above), Cynthia, Daisy, Dorothy, Eliza, Ella (3), Elsie, Emily, Emma (2), Erma, Esther, Eva, Faith, Fern, Grace, Helen, Helen Rose, Ida, Ione, Jane, Josie, Julia, Kate, Kitty, Laura B., Lena, Lillie, Linn, Lucy (5), Lulu, Mabel, Maggie, Mamie, Mary (8), Mary Ellis, Mary P., Mattie, Maude, Minnie, Mollie, Nanny, Nellie, Nora (4), Ophelia, Pearl, Polly, Rachel, Rose (3), Roxie, Ruth, Sallie, Sarah (2), Susan, Susie, Thuma (Therma), and Woonardy.

The giving of two first names seems to have come into vogue within the past few decades. Only a small number of the many persons who have double given names are over 16 years old. If the middle name is written simply as an initial, the individual is usually over 17 years old. Except for the fact that such girls' names as Ann, Jean, Mae or May, and Joyce, and boys' names such as Lee, Allen, and Wayne occur more often as second middle names than first names, middle names are not very different

●551 from first names. Family names are taken as middle names in only a few instances. The bearers of these double names are often called by them both. This is especially true for girls having such hyphenated names as Anna Lee, Betty Mae, Barbara Ann, Carol May, Delores Ann, Ella Fay, Geneva Joe, Ida Lura, Linda Joy, Norma Lou, Phoebe Ann, and Sandra Jean.

Comanche given names show a great deal of individuation. For a total of 1989 Comanche with first names there are 1196 individual names (including double names), or a different name for each 1.66 Comanches. There are 587 names for 985 males, or a ratio of 1.68 persons per name; and 609 names for 1004 females, a ratio of 1.64. Of the total number of names there are 551 double names (259 male, 292 female). From these figures we see that the female names are slightly more individualized than those of the males, and judging from the greater number of double names, more elegant. One may adduce several possible explanations for this diversity of names. It may reflect the old Comanche pattern of a distinctive name for each person as well as the taboo on using the name of a dead person. Given names rather than family names may have been used to distinguish different persons, especially in the early reservation days, since family names were so hard for the Whites to cope with. Or it might simply be the result of a fashion of choosing names that are different and rather fancy.

The following first names, listed by the number of times they occur, are the ones most frequently bestowed on males: Frank 18, James 18, George 17, John 16, Samuel 16, Albert 14, Robert 13, Henry 12, William 12, Edward 11, Bert 8, Ralph 8, Charles 7, Kenneth 7, and Raymond 7. If middle names are included, the ranking is changed; some new names are added and others are dropped: James 29, Lee 25 (the commonest middle name, occurring 18 times), George 24, William 24, John 23, Frank 22, Edward 22, Robert 21, Albert 20, Henry 20, Charles

55 16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11, Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.[148]

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Bessie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are *Gary Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), tavetosavItI *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

[113] [171]

[148] Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

1. John 8280	11. Samuel 1628
2. William 7611	12. Frank 1570
3. James 4259	13. Harry 1112
4. Charles 4253	14. Richard 1027
5. George 4171	15. Francis 1003
6. Thomas 2710	16. Frederick 1000
7. Henry 2366	17. Walter 970
8. Robert 2303	18. David 967
9. Joseph 2266	19. Arthur 904
10. Edward 1997	20. Albert 862

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 15% of the total, including double names 23%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

[p. 249-A]

● 551 twelve such names on the census rolls. The only Comanche with three given names is Jewel Ann Waumaconnie Wallace. The Comanche name comes from the given name of a woman of 80, wimako·ni? *one who chases someone back with a club.*

With the more prosaic names listed above, the following examples give a representative selection of Comanche given names:

Male first names: Adrian, Amos, Algernon, Archie Dean, Arron, Arvol, Augusta Norman.

Baby, Belindo, Bertrand Eugene, Bobbie Jewel, Bruner, Bucky, Bud, Buntin, Burnell.

Capps, Caudolario, Celso, Charles Malong, Clay, Cleatis, Cleveland, Clyde Berlyle, Cokey (Cookie), Conny Coffee.

Darrell, Delrio, Donell, Dumas, Dyson K.

Elbus, Eldridge, Elgin, Elroe, Errol Kent, Eustace.

Fay, Ferrell, Forrest.

Galvus, Garrison, Given, Givens Rain, Guy Tucker.

Haddon, Hawk, Herschel, Hezekiah, Hoke Smith, Hollis, Honey, Horace, Hugh.

Ike, Inman C.

Jamison Redith, Jeriyah Dedodge, Jerome Chester, Jester, Joshua, Joubert, Joy, Joyce Lee.

Kelly Waddell, Kelton, Kent Orval, Kermit, Knox, Kye.

Lamont, La Rue, Laverne, Lemuel, Lewellyn, Lincoln, Linn, Lovell, Luepp, Lumer, Lupe Anderson, Luther, Lyon.

Madison Berkley, Major, Malcolm, Mark, Matthew, Max, McEvans, Mead, Meech, Menno, Merrill, Mikey, Moffett, Montgomery, Moran, Moses.

Napoleon, Nesler, Nickolas.

Oliver Hinson, Oscar.

Pernell, Pierson Page.

Rafey, Randlett Cragg, Reaves, Reuben, Riley, Roe, Roderick Parrish.

Schley, Scott Ferris, Silcott, Stacy Lee, Stanford Walker, Strudwick, Sunrise.

Tennyson Berry, Terrance, Thurman Ray.

Vandal, Vidale, Videll, Voris.

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551 Weldon, Wellington, White, Whitt, Willerton, Woodrow Joyce.

Women's names offer the following: Aldeen, Alverta, Angelia, Ardena Mae, Anona A., Ardis, Arrillia Mae, Avis Nadine.

Beattie, Belva Ann, Benal Lou, Berdenia, Blossom.

Caleda, Camille, Carla Dorena, Charlene, Chequita Ann, Cicily, Claudettia, Cleta Ruth, Cody, Colleen, Corrine.

Darling Virginia, Delpha Zoe, Dixie Dean, Dorcas, Dorphus.

Easter, Eilena Floy, Electa Mary, Eloise Lavena, Elva Jean, Emmet Ruth, Ethel Yvonne, Etheline, Eudora, Eula, Exie, Eyeta.

Fanchon Willene, Floy Juanita, Francella Ann.

Garnett, Geniece, Goldie, Greta, Gwendolyn.

Happy, Hazel, Hester, Hilda, Hope Maurine, Hulda.

Imogene, Ioleta, Iris Dawn, Isa, Ivarine.

Jacqueline Violet, Joebnya, Joeleen Frances, Johnson Louise, Judea, Jueretta.

Kathleen.

La Denna Vita, Ladora Fay, Lahoma, La Nell, Lavona, Leilani, Lottsee, Lucreta, Luetta.

Mada Louise, Margerine, Marylyne May, Melva Joe, Metzie Madeline, Mona.

Nada, Nemah, Neomi Lorene, Normal Jean.

Oma Jean, Oneda, Opal Pearl, Opaletta, Osie.

Pasquenta, Patsy Mozelle, Pauline Zella, Phoebe Ann.

Quanah Kay.

Reba Joe, Rechandle, Richenda Jean, Reona, Ruby Fern, Ruth Odella.

Sharon Rose, Sophia.

Thedoshia, Theone Maxine.

Vellarine, Venee Lois, Verbena, Verneta Ruth, Veronica, Vida, Vinita.

Wanada, Werta Jean, White Rose, Wilhelmina Jean, Willene, Winona, Wynema, Wywena May.

Yvonne, Zelma, Zenia Mae, Zona.

[p. 250-A]

● 551 There are several Comanche who are named after illustrious people: Garner Roosevelt Atetewuthtake, Kit Carson Farwell, Charles Lindbergh Ticeahkie, Calvin Coolidge Pohapatchako, Franklin D. Parker, General Scott Tonemah (General Scott was stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma for many years), and Bennie Leonard Caddo (Bennie Leonard was a champion prizefighter). Three persons have the name Quanah, kwana? *odor*, which was the first name of the Comanche chief and warrior, Quanah Parker.

White given names, as has been suggested above, suffer some phonetic distortion when pronounced by Comanche with little or no knowledge of English. These mispronunciations quite frequently become generally accepted. The following are examples: nere? *Nelly*; mīru? *Myrtle*; menī·? *Minny*; maikI *Mike*; to·me? *Tommy*; ?ombre? *Audrey*; pesa? *Bessie*; and ?estī? *Esther*.

The given names of persons having Mexican blood or a mixture of White and Mexican ancestry include the following names derived from Spanish: Anacleto, Antonio, Boniface, Caudolario, Cicario, Cruz, Felipe, Gilberto, Hepardo, Jesus, Lorenzo, Louis, Migel, Ricardo, Sostenes, Sotaro, Tomaso, all masculine names. Feminine names include the following: Carlotta, Carmen, Christabelle, Clemencia, Delores, Devita, Florentina, Guadaloupe, Herlinda, Isabelle, Juanita, Juana, Kalora, Lorenza, Marie, Octaviana, Refugia, Rosetta, and Speranze.

There is apparently a recent tendency for persons of Mexican-Comanche ancestry to give their children American names instead of Spanish ones and most of these names are quite indistinguishable from the others on the rolls. The following are names of males who are listed as having Mexican blood: Adrid John, Archibald, Ben, Clarence, Donovan Earl, Eribert, Franklin D., Hilarie, J. P.,[169] Leon, Michael, Nabor, Peairs

[169] The practice of giving only initials for a

[p. 250-B]

551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie, Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Laurania Peral, Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie, Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian, Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and Zelia.

551 177 Thus, we have traced the acculturation of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal names, from the old pattern described above to the whole-hearted adoption of the local 551 178 Southern White naming patterns. There is little left of the old, except perhaps in the great individuation of given names. The actual circumstances of the giving of first names may show a few faint traces of the 551 177 old customs, but even that is doubtful. The degree of acceptance of the new naming practices may be taken as a rough index of the participation of the Comanche in the culture of the Whites. The older, relatively 551 177 178 less acculturated Comanche still bear individual names, while the younger generations have adopted the White pattern to the extent that the old way has entirely yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

[p. 251-A]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
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Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]
175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
317 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who, because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555 ____

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[351] Ezueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175
551
701
621
[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[31]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[32] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[33] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
	Second		
Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe: El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	Exchange [34]of the group Yupe He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	50 6
	Third led by Tosacondata		
Huanecoruco.	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

(114)

[31] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[32] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[34] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego. Yam:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . [34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred.

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown.

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

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(1786)

175 701 648 726 to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral: Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.	
701 Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo: He raises his hands; second son	
Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero: Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.	
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa és:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[36]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[37]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[36] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[37] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

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out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, "*Hi-hites Para-da-de-a! Hi-hites Para-da-de-a!*" They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along with the children, "*Hi-hites Para-da-de-a!*" Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites*. It's a sort of hello, but a hello you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a*. Means Big Boy."

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in-

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123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1863. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name
736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood
[597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo,
726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing
648 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keechi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[736] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
● 551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Anadarko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic-

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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money.

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City.

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature.

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds.

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the

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agonizing time came after he had told me who Mo-cho-rook was, where he came from, and many of his peculiarities when I asked him, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook?" placing the emphasis on Mo-cho-rook. In other words, what does Mo-cho-rook mean? Without going through the painful steps we used to arrive at it, this was his explanation. "White man say, Comanche so cruel he makes white man's blood run cold. Mo-cho-rook means, he is so cruel, he makes Comanche's blood run cold."

This, then is the story of Mo-cho-rook, after placing all the fragments together, and with the editing of the squaw man. Sometime in the middle twenties of the last century, an unusually well-planned raid was made into Old Mexico. It was made by a leader of excellent repute. His raids had always been successful, and he always picked out a select group from the volunteers. This time he selected about a hundred young but proven warriors. Each was to provide himself with two good horses, one to have a pack saddle. The end of the raid was to be the capture of a town that had never been raided from north of the river.

It was well protected on north, east, and west by unhospitable land. It was fifty miles from the nearest water, on those three sides. This rather large ranch town sat near the head of a fertile, well-watered valley. It was twenty-odd miles to the next nearest town, with only ranches lying in between.

These people were very rich in good horses and cattle. Upward of a hundred or more families lived in the town. As the plans were laid out the Comanches would move in to well-concealed hideouts in the hills below the town. The town was too large to be taken by direct attack. At siesta time, part of the warriors would make an attack on the horse herders and stampede the horses to the west out onto the desert. After the pursuit was well away from town, the herd would be headed to the north.

As many of the pursuers as possible would be ambushed, as they would be presumably strung out. But the pursuit was not to be discouraged, and they were to be led as far away from town as possible.

Once the pursuit was well away from town, the rest of the warriors were to attack the town, where the only opposition was supposed to be the old men and the boys. The available horses would have been taken by the able-bodied men of the town for the pursuit. All the old

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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole.

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.